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Tatsächlich hatte Eberts Wirken nachhaltige Folgen. Seine Studenten, die er einst sorgsam ausgewählt und künstlerisch ausgebildet hatte, wurden erfolgreiche Theater- und Opernprotagonisten der Türkei. Eberts Schüler Mahir Canova wurde Leiter der Schauspielabteilung des Konservatoriums, Cüneyt Gökçer Generaldirektor des Schauspielhauses und Aydın Gün Generaldirektor der Oper.⁸⁷ Ebert hatte die zentrale Forderung Atatürks erfüllt: einen türkischen Nachwuchs heranzuziehen, der später in leitender und ausbildender Funktion wirken konnte. Dabei wurde auch das von Ebert erarbeitete Repertoire stetig weiterentwickelt: Als Intendant der Staatsoper Ankara zeigte Necil Kâzım Akses, ehemals Mitarbeiter Eberts am Konservatorium, im Jahr 1958 *Salome* von Richard Strauss und *Die Kluge* von Carl Orff, beide erfolgreich in türkischer Sprache aufgeführt. Altar bewertet diese Aufführungen als Früchte einer relativ kurzen Entwicklung von 1935 bis 1958. Die Uraufführung der Oper *Kerem* des türkischen Komponisten Adnan Saygun im Jahr 1953 in Ankara kann als wichtige Etappe auf dem Weg zu einer eigenen türkischen Oper betrachtet werden.⁸⁸

Eberts Einfluss reichte über seine bloße Anwesenheit in der Türkei hinaus und wirkte über Jahrzehnte nach. Seinen Schülern galt er auch lange, nachdem er das Land verlassen hatte, als wichtige Bezugsperson⁸⁹, und noch heute rahmen die Porträts Carl Eberts und Paul Hindemiths – als 'Gründungsväter' – den Eingang des Konservatoriums in Ankara.

⁸⁷ 1952 stellte Ebert bei seinem Besuch fest: „Eine besondere Freude war es für mich zu sehen, daß die Art der Theaterkunst, die ich bemüht war meinen Schülern beizubringen, nun bereits Früchte in der zweiten Generation trägt: bei meinen Besuchen des Konservatoriums habe ich festgestellt, dass meine damaligen Schüler, die jetzt dort als Lehrer wirken, ganz außerordentliche Erfolge mit dem neuen Schauspielernachwuchs erzielen.“ Ebert, Interview in Ankara, 27. 3. 1952, SAdK, Berlin, Carl-Ebert-Archiv 244.

⁸⁸ Altar, *Begegnung mit Paul Hindemith*, S. 33 ff.

⁸⁹ Sowohl Eberts enger Vertrauter, ehemaliger Schüler und Assistent, Cüneyt Gökçer als auch sein ehemaliger Student Mahir Canova würdigten Eberts Leistungen umfassend in ihren publizierten Erinnerungen: Cüneyt Gökçer, Hocam Carl Ebert'e açık mektup, in: *Devlet Tiyatrosu*, H. 45. 1969, S. 3-8; Mahir Canova, *Tiyatro'da yaşam*, Ankara 1993; Cüneyt Gökçer, *Sanatta' 50 yıl*, Ankara 1994.

Aspects of Italian Musical Theater under the Fascist Dictatorship

von FIAMMA NICOLodi

By necessity, any discussion of opera within the larger framework of Italian music during the fascist period in Italy requires a selective point of view because opera never underwent the interruptions from its origins (c. 1600) to the end of the 20th century, as did Italian instrumental music (which ceased being practiced, save for a few exceptions, during part of the 19th century).

The *repêchages* of early music, along with original orchestral and chamber compositions, were experienced through a nationalistic and polemical lens. These *repêchages* represented the great music novelty of the years between the end of 19th and the early 20th century and opposed the predominance of secular opera performance. Along with the revival of music by Monteverdi, Vivaldi, Frescobaldi and Scarlatti, the early 20th century saw a flourish in the production of symphonic and chamber music, which contrasted significantly to the 19th century, where such compositions were only produced occasionally, and even then, with predominantly educational purposes.

When Mussolini rose to power in Italy in late October 1922, he inherited a nation with various musical trends. In order to ascertain how, and to what extent, the Fascist cultural policy imprinted itself upon opera, it is important to single out the most relevant stylistic changes which occurred following the onset of the Fascist regime. In assessing the changes occurred, it should be noted that, unlike the better organized Nazi government in Germany, the bureaucratic machinery operated by the Fascist regime was slow in gaining ground. As a result, stylistic changes in Italy can only be fully evaluated from the 1930s onwards.

When Mussolini ascended to power in Italy, the most notable operatic movements that existed were the „Giovane Scuola“ (or „Young School“) movement, the „Futurism“ movement, and the „Generazione dell'80“ movement (or the „Generation of the Eighties“ movement; which owes its name to the fact that all its exponents were born in the last two decades of the 19th century). The „Giovane Scuola“ was almost exclusively devoted to opera, and was widely considered to be the most popular movement among the masses. The most important members of the movement were Francesco Cilea (1866-1950), Umberto Giordano (1867-1948), Pietro Mascagni (1863-1945), Giacomo Puccini (1858-1924) and Riccardo Zandonai (1883-1944). The most productive period for all these opera-composers had come to an end by the early 1920s, with the excep-

tion of Zandonai, who was younger and continued to produce new works in the 1920s and '30s, such as *I cavalieri di Ekebù* (1925), *La farsa amorosa* (1933).

Since this movement ended prior to the full ascent of Fascism, it is difficult to apply a comparative method to discover the changes in language and style that occurred in the school as a result of fascism in Italy. For members of the „Giovane Scuola“ (also called the „Veristi“ movement) their major considerations when composing music included: historical continuity with the past (founded upon the pre-eminence of the vocal element); a conception of opera as an expressive medium (implemented through an emphasis of meaningful words, gestures and affections); and a narrative-structured dramaturgy, culminating in a dramatic climax or „catastrophe.“

Living up until only the early years of Mussolini's dictatorship, Puccini had very little personal contact with Fascism during his lifetime. Following his death, however, his works and figure were widely manipulated and exploited by the regime. A man of conservative political ideas, Puccini showed a marked predilection for „men who give but do not take orders“ („uomini che comandano e non si fanno comandare“) and felt instinctively attracted to Mussolini, who „would save Italy from ruin“ („avrebbe salvato l'Italia dallo sfacelo“), in the period following World War I, an era characterized by strong social and political tensions (including mass strikes and widespread unemployment).¹ On the 18th of September 1924, the government, in acknowledgment of the composer's international prestige and success, appointed him „senator of the Kingdom“. However, before he was able to take his oath in the Senate, Puccini died in a Bruxelles hospital on November 29th, 1924 – a death that would set off a chain of propaganda manipulations by the government.

Mascagni, another member of the „Giovane Scuola“, enrolled in the Fascist Party („Partito Nazionale Fascista“ or PNF) in 1932 – a belated formal acceptance at a time when enlistment had become mandatory for all state employees. In defining his allegiance to Fascism, the term „Mussolinism“ would arguably be accurate, in consideration of the composer's great admiration and loyalty toward the Prime Minister.² The caustic, rebellious temper of the „Scapigliato“ Livorno-born composer remained almost unchanged during his lifetime and

more than once appeared in criticisms toward some of the more illiberal aspects of the dictatorship. Yet such intolerance, more impulsive than critical, should not to be considered a gesture of opposition toward the regime. The only new opera by Mascagni staged during the dictatorship years was *Nerone* (1934, libretto by Giovanni Targioni Tozzetti), and it was performed when the composer was already in his seventies. It is a work that assembles new and previously composed music from his Roman period (*Vistilia*, 1891). Notably, lines from the original play by Pietro Cossa (1871) were intentionally cut out for censorship purposes. Others, praising the Roman fascist myth and allowing for grand choral parades, were added. A notable example of this occurs in the impetuous „Andante mosso e marziale“ in A major, which closes Act I in a grand crescendo (see Ex. 1).³

But neither hymns to Rome, nor the masculine figures of Praetorians were sufficient in modernizing a subject created at a time of the great late 19th-century archaeological discoveries as well as at a time when Boito was working on his own *Nerone* (1877-1915). Mascagni's attempt was now hopelessly misplaced in the rhetoric of regime. So much so, that following the massively publicized opening night at the *Teatro alla Scala* on January 16th, 1935, critics did not hesitate to point out the inconsistencies between the new political climate, so intensely committed to mythicizing Romanity, and „this Nero, singing while soaking in blood, an idiot with a lyre hanging from his neck, a ranter without glory and an inexcusable murderer.“⁴

Ex. 1

P. Mascagni, *Nerone*
reduction for voice and piano, pages 50-52
(look at the following pages)

¹ G. Marotti, *Giacomo Puccini intimo*, Florence: Vallecchi 1943, p. 168-169.

² Letter to G. Orsini, June 1934: „I became fascist two years ago, but before it was my spontaneous ardor that brought me close to the man I've always admired. And everyone knows that I, as a non-fascist, have been serving the Regime with enthusiasm because of the love I have for our Leader.“ („Da due anni sono Fascista anche io, ma prima era l'impeto spontaneo che m'avvicinava spiritualmente all'Uomo che ho amato ed ammiro sempre; e tutti sanno che io, non Fascista abbia servito il Regime con entusiasmo per l'amore che avevo per il Capo“) (Rome, *Archivio Centrale dello Stato* SPD Ris X/R B. p. 102).

³ „Caesar Augustus watches over Rome. Victory and glory for the soul of Rome! The gods protect Nero and Rome! Rome! Rome!“ („Cesare Augusto veglia su Roma. Vittorie e glorie! per l'anima Roma! Gli Dei proteggono Nerone e Roma! Roma! Roma!“). P. Mascagni, *Nerone*, reduction for voice and piano by Mario Mascagni (Firenze, Stabilimento Mignani, 1934), p. 50-52.

⁴ Marco Ramperti, review on *La Stampa* quoted in Mario Morini, *Per la storia delle opere. Carteggi, documenti, cronache*, in M. Morini (Ed.), *Pietro Mascagni* (Milano: Sonzogno, I, 1964), p. 425: „questo Nerone, canterino grondante sangue, mentecatto con cetra al collo, istrione senza gloria e assassino senza scuse“.

And^{te} mosso e marziale All^o mod^{to}

rit. assai

Ce - sa - re Au - gu - sto, ve - glia su Ro - ma!

Ce - sa - re Au - gu - sto, ve - glia su Ro - ma!

Ce - sa - re Au - gu - sto, ve - glia su Ro - ma!

Ce - sa - re Au - gu - sto, ve - glia su Ro - ma!

rit. assai

Ce - sa - re Au - gu - sto, ve - glia su Ro - ma! All^o mod^{to}

And^{te} mosso e marziale

rit.

Vit - to - rie e glo - ria per l'al - ma Ro - ma!

Vit - to - rie e glo - ria per l'al - ma Ro - ma!

Vit - to - rie e glo - ria per l'al - ma Ro - ma!

Vit - to - rie e glo - ria per l'al - ma Ro - ma!

Vit - to - rie e glo - ria per l'al - ma Ro - ma!

Vit - to - rie e glo - ria per l'al - ma Ro - ma!

sa sopra *rit.*

And^{te} mosso e marziale

All^o mod^{to}

CORO

And^{te} mosso e marziale *cresc. sempre ed anim. poco a poco*

rit.

Gli Dei pro - teggano Ne - ro - ne e

Gli Dei pro - teggano Ne - ro - ne e

Gli Dei pro - teggano Ne - ro - ne e

Gli Dei pro - teggano Ne - ro - ne e

Gli Dei pro - teggano Ne - ro - ne e

Gli Dei pro - teggano Ne - ro - ne e

sa sopra *rit.*

And^{te} mosso e marziale

cresc. sempre ed anim. poco a poco

più f

Ro - ma! Ro - ma! Ro - ma!

Ro - ma! Ro - ma! Ro - ma!

Ro - ma! Ro - ma! Ro - ma!

Ro - ma! Ro - ma! Ro - ma!

Ro - ma! Ro - ma! Ro - ma!

Ro - ma! Ro - ma! Ro - ma!

sempre cresc. ed anim.

più f

Ro - ma! Ro - ma! Ro - ma!

Ro - ma! Ro - ma! Ro - ma!

Ro - ma! Ro - ma! Ro - ma!

Ro - ma! Ro - ma! Ro - ma!

Ro - ma! Ro - ma! Ro - ma!

Ro - ma! Ro - ma! Ro - ma!

sempre cresc. ed anim.

CORO

CORO
 cresc. ed anim. ancora
 ff
 Meno
 Ro - mal
 Ro - mal
 Ro - mal
 Ro - mal
 Ro - mal
 cresc. ed anim. ancora
 ff
 Meno
 And.^{te} maestoso
 ff sempre cresc.
 su sopra...

Whilst Cilea, another of the „Giovane Scuola“, did not compose anything during the Italian fascist era, Giordano composed his final two operas during that same period. In his first, *La cena delle beffe* (1924), he set to music a text by Sem Benelli, a Post-Dannunzian writer who adapted his own play into a libretto. The opera, largely modelled on the Verist repertoire and set in Florence at the time of Lorenzo il Magnifico, has several outstanding features including numerous highly dramatic scenes; a relentless rhythm (borrowed from film and fictional detective stories); a dramaturgical approach (previously used by Giordano in *Andrea Chénier* in 1896); a vocal prominence (lightened by folk inflections of Tuscan stornelli); and a variegated orchestral texture. The second of Giordano's last two operas, *Il re* (1929), offers an altogether different example – that of comic opera, attempted by the composer in his last endeavor to offer a fresh image of his music. His accomplishment was a light score, full of hints of neo-Rossinian *belcanto* – especially for the character of the young miller's daughter (who, in the opera, is the king's favorite) and subtle timbre inventions.

Giordano never composed another opera following *Il re*, even after encouragement from Mussolini, who as a patron, suggested he set to music the subject of *Manfredi di Svevia*.⁵ Instead during those years, Giordano focused his musical talents elsewhere including composing hymns and the incidental music for *Cesare* (1939), a play planned and outlined by Mussolini with text by Giovacchino Forzano. Notably, in the play, the Roman leader, who is shown to be charismatic and strong-willed, clearly alludes to the Dictator.

During the first years of his dictatorship Mussolini oversaw the development of the visual and performing arts as well as literature, with the help of a numerous advisors; in this period he showed, or at the very least affected, an interest in their restoration and diffusion across Italy and abroad. In consideration of his aims and ambitions in this area, Mussolini's statements in 1923, a few months following his ascent to power, suggest a strong nationalistic faith, which he inherited from the past. At the same time, he also sought to reassure the intellec-

⁵ Letter by U. Giordano to Mussolini, 17 November 1934: „Your Excellency, having given me further proof of your benevolence, has suggested the historical figure of Manfred of Sicily as a fascinating topic for my new opera. I am thoroughly grateful for this advice and for the interest shown in my work, and I am happy to have received such a suggestion because I believe that the ill-fated Swabian King could be well suited for a story full of lively, dramatic emotion.“ („V.E. dandomi ancora una prova della Sua benevolenza ha voluto segnalarmi la figura di Manfredi di Svevia come quella di un protagonista suggestivo per una mia nuova opera lirica. Sono profondamente grato a V.E. di questo ricordo e di questo interessamento e sono felice della indicazione in quanto che penso che la figura dello sventurato Re svevo si presti ad intessere una vicenda di viva emozione drammatica“) (Rome, *Archivio Centrale dello Stato*, SPD ORD 14728).

tuals and artists that the regime would not adopt a „State art.“⁶ Even as fascism became completely totalitarian after 1925, in a speech of 1928 the *Duce* once again clarified his intention to safeguard „the diversity of temperaments and of artists“ („la diversità dei temperamenti e degli artisti“), avoiding patently politicized artistic production.⁷ This marks a significant difference between the Fascist dictatorship from that of the Soviet or Nazi dictatorships, and would ultimately prove a winning strategy in gaining the consent of the artists, who were no otherwise so malleable.

The project of a „new“ art expressed by the Dictator in 1926, capable of harmonizing tradition with modernity, was intentionally ambiguous, such that artists of every persuasion would be able to interpret its meaning subjectively and fulfill it in their own way. This strategy of *cerchiobottismo* (or, Mussolini's attempt to remain in favor with all music factions regarding promotions, patronage, and audiences) turned out to be one of the most effective tools to gratify and to keep musicians, critics and performers in his power, all through a well-calculated game of flattery and corruption.

The *Accademia d'Italia*, a cultural institution created by the Fascist government following the example of the *Académie de France*, became in effect an

⁶ B. Mussolini, „Alla mostra del ‘Novecento’“, speech of 26 March 1923, in *Opera omnia. Scritti e discorsi*, XIX, p. 187-188. „I declare that I have no intention to encourage anything that might resemble State Art. Art belongs in the realm of the individual. The state has only one duty: not sabotaging art, making sure that artists have good working conditions, and encouraging artists both artistically and nationalistically“ („Dichiaro che è lungi da me l'idea di incoraggiare qualche cosa che possa assomigliare all'arte di stato. L'arte rientra nella sfera dell'individuo. Lo stato ha un solo dovere: quello di non sabotarla, di far condizioni umane agli artisti, di incoraggiarli dal punto di vista artistico e nazionale“).

⁷ B. Mussolini, „Il giornalismo come missione“, speech of 10 October 1928, in *Opera omnia. Scritti e discorsi*, IV, p. 251. „In the fields of art, science, philosophy, membership in the fascist party should not create situations of privilege or immunity. Just as one should be allowed to say that Mussolini is an amateur as a violinist player, so should one be allowed an objective judgment of artworks, pieces of prose, poems and theatrical pieces, all without ‘veto’ such opinions just because someone is not a party member. [...] One can be a valorous fascist but also a moronic poet. One should not put the audience in the position of seeming antifascist because it boos at the freakish literature, mediocre poems and whitewashed paintings. Membership in the party does not provide talent to those who do not already have it“ („Nel campo dell'arte, della scienza, della filosofia, la tessera non può creare una situazione di privilegio o di immunità. Come deve essere permesso di dire che Mussolini come suonatore di violino, è un dilettante e molto modesto, così deve essere permesso di giudicare obiettivamente l'arte, la prosa, la poesia, il teatro, senza che ci sia un ‘veto’ per via di una tessera. [...] Un Tizio può essere un valoroso fascista ed anche della prima ora, ma come poeta può essere un deficiente. Non si deve mettere il pubblico nell'alternativa di passare per antifascista fischiando, o di passare per stupido o vile plaudendo a tutti gli aborti letterari, a tutti i centoni poetici, a tutti i quadri degli imbianchini. La tessera non dà l'ingegno a chi non lo possiede“).

enormous mausoleum, where remunerations were bestowed upon intellectuals and artists, who would consequently convert themselves into bureaucratic supervisors of Italian culture. In 1929, on the occasion of the first nominations to the *Accademia*, the prime minister appointed the most famous opera-composers of popular opera: Mascagni and Giordano.⁸ In accordance with his long-held aims of pleasing all tendencies, Mussolini had the year before supported the elite, funding and granting his patronage – which seldom happened – to the festival promoted in Siena in 1928 by the International Society of Contemporary Music (ISCM), whose then-president was Edward J. Dent. The society organized annual events in several European cities and brought together the most diverse trends of the avant-garde, „with no distinction made toward nationality, race, political or religious membership or affiliation“.

The mimetic attitude of Mussolini (an amateur violinist and music connoisseur *à la page*) that led him to, among other things, personally revise many of the programs of concerts he attended, welcome patronages to cultural events and fund artistic festivals, ensnared the affections of not only most Italian musicians, critics and musicologists, but also that of many foreigners. In a letter addressed to Mussolini, following the 1928 Siena festival of his Society, Dent declared himself to be overwhelmed by the „new imprint impressed by Your Excellency on the life of this wonderful Nation“ („l'impronta nuova impressa dall'E. V. alla vita di questa Nazione meravigliosa“).⁹ Stravinsky, well known for his conservative ideas, once described Mussolini as „the saviour of Italy and [...] of Europe“.¹⁰ He also presented many gifts to the *Duce*, who received him on several occasions. The critic Willi Reich, advocate of the Schönbergkreis (and notably the only translator into German of Mussolini's *Writings and Speeches*), reported from an audience granted to him in 1934 – where he presented the Dictator with

⁸ Cilea settled at the Farnesina, the building that hosted the *Accademia d'Italia*, in 1939.

⁹ Letter of Edward J. Dent to Mussolini, 15 September 1928. „In the charming and serene environment where our meeting took place, we were surrounded by an open and balanced atmosphere. We have felt not only the poetry and the traditional beauty of the Italian spirit, but also the new mark that Your Excellency has given to this wonderful Nation“ („Nell'ambiente suggestivo e sereno in cui si è svolto il nostro convegno, nell'atmosfera di liberalità e di equilibrio che ci ha costantemente circondati, noi abbiamo sentito non soltanto la poesia e la bellezza tradizionali dello spirito italiano ma anche l'impronta nuova impressa dall'E. V. alla vita di questa Nazione meravigliosa“) (Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, PCM 1934-1936 14.2.55).

¹⁰ „Il salvatore dell'Italia e [...] dell'Europa“: this declaration was released to the critic Alberto Gasco after an audience with Mussolini at Palazzo Venezia. See Gasco, Stravinsky e il Fascismo (1930), in *Da Cimarosa a Stravinsky* (Rome: De Santis 1939), p. 142. Concerning the presents given to the *Duce* (among them, the second volume of *Chroniques de ma vie*, a gold medal, and the score of the *Duo concertante*) and more in general Stravinsky's interest in fascism, see Harvey Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1987), p. 167-169.

his avant-garde revue „23“ – „die erstaunlichen Fachkenntnisse des gütigen und lebenswürdigen Menschen Mussolini“.¹¹

Among the previously-mentioned artistic movements that Fascism inherited, of particular note is Futurism, which expanded to include music in 1910. In accordance with the proclamations of Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, its founding and charismatic leader, Futurism was the force behind several artistic innovations adopted on mainly propositional and theoretic grounds, with great emphasis placed upon the creative. Among the proponents of the movement, there existed a great interest in improvisation, the ephemeral and aleatoric, dynamism and „rumorism“ (the „aesthetics of noise“), some of the popular contemporary artistic mediums (such as jazz, music-hall, and cinema), as well as in the intersections between music, painting and dance. Other important features of Futurism included an endless offer of new ideas and *trouvailles*, and an overturning of traditional aesthetic conventions. Of the notable Futurist composers, only two completed a regular music education: Francesco Balilla Pratella (1880-1955), a student of Mascagni, and Franco Casavola (1891-1955), a pupil of Respighi. Most disciples of Futurism, instead, were self-taught artists or performers whose artistic talents were in some instances highly questionable. Luigi Russolo (1885-1947), father of „Rumorism“, was a painter, but also an ingenious inventor of a mechanical device called the „intonarumori“ (literally, „noise-tuning“) that produced unconventional sounds impossible to produce using traditional instruments.

During the Fascist era, no Futurist operas were produced. Casavola began composing for the theater when his success as part of the Futurist movement began to fade (*Il gobbo del Califfo* [*The Hunchback of the Caliph*] 1929, is written in the late-Verist style). The only opera born into the Futurist household was *L'aviatore Dro*, composed by Pratella in the years 1911-1914 and performed in 1920. *L'aviatore Dro* was not staged during the Fascist era, even when in 1934 Marinetti exerted considerable pressure to perform the work, since he considered it among the major innovations of „airborne music“ or „aeromusica“.¹² This lack of a revival in the 1930s was partly due to musical reasons, such as the opera's feverish rhythmic mobility; frank, harsh folk melodies; and its outdated use of the hexatonic harmonic and melodic system. The main reason for its neglect, however, was the subject matter, considered at the time to be impudent (due, in part, to the opera's inclusion of substance abuse and erotically charged scenes) as well as aspects of anti-patriotism (for example, in one scene Dro, the dying aviator, is violently kicked by his rival after his aircraft has crashed to the

¹¹ W. Reich, Mussolini und sein Uebersätzer, in *Reichspost*, Vienna, 4 October 1934, p. 11.

¹² F. T. Marinetti, [letter to the editor], *La Stampa* (Turin), 31 October 1940.

ground). Exaggerated body language was used by the composer in order to convey the feeling of nonsense and absurdity as well as his aversion to convention, all of which are in perfect conformity with early Futurist aesthetics. However, by the 1930s this idea had become obsolete, discarded merchandise which could not be easily sold.

The Fascist refusal to stage *L'Aviatore Dro* leads us to the conclusion that the régime's policy toward music can be divided into two decades: the first, characterized by a tolerance, and even an encouragement, toward modernistic choices and exchanges with foreign countries; the second, characterized by conformism, moralism, as well as by demagogic and patently autarchic positions. This can partly be explained by the fact that starting in the 1930s, Fascism as a totalitarian political system became concerned with adopting „mass culture.“ Hence Mussolini's admonition of 1934, to „go in the direction of the people“ („andare verso il popolo“) was followed by a series of musical undertakings aimed at the masses. As early as 1930, the „Carro di Tespi lirico“ was established – a summer traveling theater aimed mainly for mainly at farming communities.¹³ Seven years later, the „Theatrical Saturday“ („Sabato teatrale“) was founded for opera and drama, and was reserved for the working classes in the major cities (those attending typically included students, factory workers, craftsmen and soldiers), who, at a reasonable price, were able to attend performances staged on Saturday afternoons by the major theaters. Also in 1937, the Italian Musical Summer (*Estate Musicale Italiana*) was launched, an event that took place in various beautiful locales around the country although unfortunately in most cases these locations tended to be acoustically inadequate.

In the aesthetic debate, Mussolini's demagogic injunction found numerous musicians and critics unprepared. They offered some resistance and came up with verbal balancing acts to oppose the project, all the while confirming (perhaps even feigning confirmation of) their faith in fascism. Some, nevertheless, found it hard to accept the idea that a regime, after suppressing democracy and opposing anti-equalitarian theories, would bring up the principle of sovereignty of the people in the sphere of artistic evaluation.¹⁴

¹³ The operatic version of *Carro di Tespi* could be struck within a few hours and transported by twelve tractor trailers. It was made of two stages: while one was being used to perform an opera in one city, the second was being erected in another nearby city. The *Carro* had room for 5.000 people overall: 3.000 on chairs and 2.000 on a platform. In addition to the stage – made of metallic tubes 26 meters high and with a proscenium as large as those of real theaters – the *Carro* also had an electrical substation, dressing rooms, offices, a costume shop and storage, a bar, etc. See Patrizia Girolami, *Il Carro di Tespi: teatro e fascismo*, in *Cultura e fascismo. Letteratura arti e spettacolo di un Ventennio*, in Marino Biondi e Alessandro Borsotti (Ed.), (Firenze: Ponte alle Grazie, 1996), p. 265-290.

¹⁴ Anon. [Carlo Belli], *Notiziario*, in *Origini*, I (July 1937), 5; Pizzetti, Osservazioni e appunti sul nostro teatro di musica, op. cit., 14; Alfredo Casella, *Musica contemporanea e*

With regards to the output of music during the Fascist era in Italy, music proved itself to be an art with a plurality of meanings, so abstract that nobody could demonstrate the essence of a would-be Fascist stamp, unless taking into account the numerous connections with the past (interestingly, connections with the past would also be hallmarks of the post-Fascist era). Terms such as „melody“, „choral dimension“, „melodrama“ and „Italianness“ were too vague to be identified as an easily recognizable style of an era. However, even the most alert musicians self-censored themselves from unconventional or uneasily accepted expressions or styles in fear of offending the new fascist regime; instead, in many cases, they set to music myths created or inherited by the regime, such as those based in Romanity and in the newly created empire. It is arguable that dictators have always greatly desired self-representation in the arts, and this is perhaps especially true with opera.

In some works of the „Generation of the Eighties,“ it is possible to detect the stylistic transformations that were discussed in the pre-Fascist years and that were then absorbed via the dictatorship's numerous modes of propaganda. The Generation of the Eighties consisted of a gathering of composers: Ottorino Respighi (1879-1936), Ildebrando Pizzetti (1880-1968), Franco Alfano (1875-1954), Gian Francesco Malipiero (1882-1973) and Alfredo Casella (1883-1947). Of these composers, not all of them possessed a deep critical awareness, nor did they all possess the same interest in exchanging musical styles and expressions with some of the bolder or non-Italian movements; nevertheless, each of them offered a significant personal contribution to the Italian musical revival of the 20th century.

Of the common elements shared by the members of this group, which, on several occasions experienced notable misunderstandings and internal struggles (there was a significant division within the group as a consequence of the so-called 'Manifesto' of 1932),¹⁵ it is worth mentioning the 'Lehrjahre' many of

pubblico, in *Atti del secondo Congresso internazionale di musica (Firenze-Cremona, 11-20 maggio 1937)* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1940), 58; Casella, Luoghi comuni, in *Origini*, I (February 1937), 5; Gian Francesco Malipiero, I rapporti fra compositore e pubblico, in *Atti del secondo Congresso internazionale di musica*, op. cit., p. 104-106; Guido Pannain, Il problema del pubblico (Che cosa è il pubblico. Come si educa il pubblico), in *Atti del secondo Congresso internazionale di musica*, op. cit., p. 39-40.

¹⁵ On 17 December 1932, Pizzetti, Respighi, and eight others – among them R. Zandonai, G. Mulè (president of the national fascist union of the musicians), G. Guerrini (director of the Florence Conservatory) and A. Toni critic of *Il popolo d'Italia* (the newspaper founded by Mussolini) – published in the principal Italian newspapers (*Il corriere della sera* and *La stampa*) their so-called „Manifesto“, in which they proclaimed themselves to be against the modernistic trend and the influences of foreign music. Even if they did not say as much, the targets of the „Manifesto“ were Malipiero and Casella. Their argument was that

them spent abroad. As a result of the general lack in quality of Italian music schools at the time, four of the five composers (the exception being Pizzetti) spent formative years, or received advanced music education, in Germany, France or Russia. Another element they had in common was the rediscovery of early music; however, the nature of this rediscovery was different for each of them and included such traditions as: Gregorian chant, Renaissance polyphony and the instrumental music of 17th to 18th centuries. Indeed, the inspirational force for each composer varied so widely that it could be strongly argued that each member of the Generation of the Eighties created his own 'artistic parents'.

We shall limit the survey of the most significant stylistic changes in the field of opera to a few important examples. From the 1930s, with the cultural policy focusing on „the masses“, composition of opera was once again placed at the highest rank in the hierarchy of musical genres. Between the end of the First World War (1918) and the 1930s, Malipiero composed a number of operas showing a clear rejection of the Italian Romantic-Verist operatic tradition as well as a rejection of the aesthetics of Wagner, thus accomplishing a radical change in the genre. In works such as *Sette canzoni* (1918) and *Torneo notturno* (1929) he eliminated recitatives – considered by Malipiero to be overly focused on spoken text and therefore anti-musical – in favor of songs in succession as arias, with a folk (modal) character. In addition, in these works Malipiero also rejected the traditional libretto and instead set to music collages he himself drew from early poetry (including Poliziano, Sicilian poets of 14th century, and others). He also rejected the convention of a continuous storyline in favor of juxtaposing several scenes containing unrelated events, resulting in contrasting effects and an incoherent storyline. Furthermore, he used vehemently modern orchestral intermezzi as a frame for the narrative episodes. After this period of completely original compositions, Malipiero's style began to change; this shift is especially noticeable in *La favola del figlio cambiato*, which is based on a libretto that Luigi Pirandello wrote specifically for him. In the opera, which has a coherent storyline, the playwright requests dialogues and monologues. Malipiero sets it to recitatives, *ariosos* reminiscent of Monteverdi, as well as melodious and expansive vocal passages. The nature of the libretto also brings the composer to use brief thematic cells, whose recurrence produces a sense of continuity between the scenes. Premiered at the Landestheater in Braunschweig on January 13th, 1934, *La favola del figlio cambiato* was praised by critics more open to change.

the authentic, traditional values of Italian music (such as the focus on „Italic“ melody and melodrama) should have been imposed as the official fascist trend. Nonetheless, the regime did not take sides in this debate, suggesting that all music movements were equally right.

Critics were also struck by the permissive disposition of the Fascist régime.¹⁶ Yet despite this, *La favola* stirred up scandal during the repeat performances staged in Darmstadt on March 3rd, 1934, as the opera was vehemently criticized as being „subversive and opposed to the policies of the German Nation.“¹⁷ The story tells of a Prince who comes from a gloomy northern country and upon traveling to the Mediterranean encounters his presumed mother, who recognizes him as the son that was abducted from her during infancy. Having found this simple, natural woman, the prince decides not to return to his country and instead sends another man – the false son, *Figlio-di-Re* (or „Son-of-King“) – to inherit the kingdom. This man, the ‘fake’ son who had been placed in the crib by witches in the place of the true son, was physically and mentally impaired. Staged in Rome, *La favola* was brutally cancelled from the planned season at the Theater Reale following its première (24th March 1934) by explicit intervention of Mussolini who was very „disappointed“ with the work that he – along with the Darmstadt authorities – found amoral and offensive because of the inappropriate portrayal of monarchic institutions.¹⁸ Mussolini’s judgement was, however, superficial, since the real poetic content was about maternal love, Mediterranean brightness, etc.

The occurrence profoundly hurt both the dramatist and the composer and, as a direct consequence, Malipiero oriented himself towards more „congruent“ subjects, composing two Roman plays, freely translated and adapted for the stage from Shakespeare: *Giulio Cesare* (1934-35) and *Antonio e Cleopatra* (1936-37). For the début of *Giulio Cesare*, Malipiero obtained a pre-approval from the Dic-

¹⁶ H. H. Stuckenschmidt, Zu Malipieros Bühnenwerken, in *Melos*, XIII (February 1934). Reprinted in G. Scarpa (Ed.), *L'opera di Gian Francesco Malipiero*, (Treviso: Canova, 1952), p. 51. „Dass ein faschistisches Königreich ein Werk von so dynastiefremder Gesinnung entstehen lassen und dulden konnte, zeigt uns wie großzügig man im heutigen Italien mit künstlerischen Dingen verfährt.“ This sentence has been omitted from the Italian version. See also K. Kühne, *Der Deutsche*, 18, 1934, partially reprinted in *Melos*, XIII (February 1934), p. 51. „Selbst der Duce Mussolini, der offenbar den ‘sechsten Sinn’ hat und selbst Amateurmusiker ist, hat sich im Wort für die junge, moderne italienische Generation eingesetzt.“

¹⁷ See L. Chiarini’s interview to L. Pirandello („Perché è stata proibita in Germania la *Favola del figlio cambiato*?“), *Quadrivio*, 18 March 1934.

¹⁸ Anonymous report to the police, 31 March 1934 (Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero dell’Interno, Dir. Gen. P.S. Div. Polizia politica fasc. „Malipiero G.F.“). „[Mussolini] sympathized with the part of the audience that was protesting [the opera], founding that the spectators were not really all that raucous in their disapproval“ („[il duce] si sarebbe compiaciuto col pubblico che protestava, invidiandone la possibilità di fischiare, trovando anzi che gli spettatori furono anche troppo poco vivaci nelle loro opposizioni“). A reconstruction of what happened at the *Teatro Reale* can be found in Fedele D’Amico, *La storia della favola*, in Playbill of the Theater dell’Opera of Rome, 24 February 1982, p. 587-607.

tator (to whom he would also later inscribe a copy of the score) in order to protect himself from any later unpleasant intervention.¹⁹ Furthermore, at the end of the play, Malipiero introduces a choral scene, which is absent in the original theatrical play, marking Octavius Caesar’s triumphant entrance accompanied by a rejoicing crowd that start to sing Horace’s *Carmen saeculare* („Alme sol“, Ex. 2).

Ex. 2

The image shows a musical score for a choral scene. At the top, it says "Tutti" and "Maestoso, ma non troppo ritenuto". The score is written for Soprano, Contralto, Tenore, and Bass, with piano accompaniment. The lyrics are in Latin, starting with "Al - me sol cur - ru ni - ti - do diem qua Pro - mus et ce - lus a - lu -". The score is arranged in three systems, each with vocal staves and piano accompaniment.

¹⁹ Gian Francesco Malipiero. Sul *Giulio Cesare*, in *L'Italia letteraria*, 26 January 1936, p. 175. „With his hopeful prophecies regarding *Giulio Cesare*, the Duce has definitively removed any lingering doubts about this work. The ‘manuscript’ has been observed, evaluated and analyzed, and one cannot forget that he accepted this effort with great willingness“ („Il Duce ha definitivamente cancellato tutti i dubbi con le sue ottimistiche profezie sul *Giulio Cesare*. Il „manoscritto“ è stato scrutato, pesato, sondato e non si può dimenticare la convinzione con la quale Egli ha accettato l’offerta di questa fatica senza peso“).

With a thundering unison beginning in *fortissimo*, this chorus reprises the sharp and imperious theme that has characterized Caesar since the opera's Preludio, as if to signify that the Roman tradition, after the emperor's death, would find itself once again manifested in the figure of the young heir and new leader – a clear allusion to the new premier of Italy.

With subtly provocative intentions, Respighi made a step backwards too, using the obsolete label of „melodramma“ for *La fiamma* (1931-33; libretto by C. Guastalla), based on *Anne Pedersdotter* (1906) by the Norwegian writer Hans Wiers-Jensen, whose setting Respighi now changed to 7th-century Ravenna. The score moves away from the polyphonic complexities and chromatic timbres typical of Respighi's orchestra, instead simplifying itself to expansive melodies and style that does not deviate significantly heavily from the most stereotyped resources of Italian tradition (such as accompanying formulas in arpeggiated quadruplets or triplets). The use of alluring thematic material is also significant, being reminiscent of the emotional significance implied by so many quotations freely reinvented. On the one hand, this alludes to Monteverdi's recitative, and on the other, it also alludes to the overflowing vocal phrasing of much romantic and post-romantic opera (such as some of the works by Donizetti, Verdi and Ponchielli). The work was unmistakably set in a retrospective style, almost as if presenting an aesthetic agenda to hush the alarmist rumors of the operatic crisis. Respighi seemed to say that Italian opera, having put aside its useless experimental phase, could still thrive and meet audience expectations but only if it returns to its roots: the operatic traditions of the 17th through 19th centuries (Ex. 3).

Ex. 3

Molto lento

Silvana

Dol-ce la mor-te, men-tre an-cor le ve-ne tre-ma-no tut-te del gio-

i-to be-ne... Fa-ch'io muo-la co-si, men-tre in cin-gi'

Casella, who had taken no interest in opera until he was forty-five years old, had always given preference to ballet. In 1928-1931 he wrote the opera *La donna serpente* (libretto by C.V. Lodovici based on C. Gozzi) which he sets in a fairy-tale world, and whose comic tones interact with its tragic and folkloric qualities in an unreal and fantastical context. After the chamber opera *La favola di Orfeo* (1932, libretto by C. Pavolini based on A. Poliziano), Casella experimented with the opera-oratorio genre in his *Il deserto tentato* (1936-1937, libretto by C. Pavolini), which was Casella's attempt to glorify the Ethiopian War (the score of the opera was in fact dedicated to Mussolini).

Pizzetti did not diverge much from the stylistic elements that had characterized his works since *Fedra* (1909-1912). Mussolini commissioned him to compose *Orseolo* (1933-1935), an opera that possesses some of the stylistic features that had become the hallmarks of the composer's earlier work such as the central role of the recitative as well as the presence of Gregorian modes. Pizzetti also used innovative touches in *Orseolo*: intertwining contrasting sequences, unexpected effects and wide choral pages with a sound density reminiscent of Verdi's works (such as „Inno a Venezia“).

Alfano's subtlety of timbre and harmony, derived from the French style, had been much appreciated in *La leggenda di Sakuntala* (1914-1920), but with *Cyrano de Bergerac* (1933-1935) the composer seemed to regress back to his first operatic success (*Resurrezione*, 1902-1903), in which he had been largely influenced by the „Giovane Scuola“, particularly Mascagni and Giordano.

It is quite difficult to determine the nature and causes related to the downward slope in creativity to which so many composers appeared to be subjected, and it is equally hard to establish to what extent the social factors (history, politics, ideology, or simply the composers' aging) may be responsible for this decline. In addition to all these factors lie the allegiances, the bureaucratic adjustments to a political party, union or corporation, as well as the competitive mechanisms of the music market. In additions, there are more concealed and uncertain psychological motives, meditations and persuasions or spontaneous convergences, which further complicate the picture. With these factors in mind, it is therefore important that we reject any simple determinism that would establish a rigid connection between historical situation and artistic result, in the conviction that true art must transcend history's contingent phenomena. Having expressed these distinctions, we shall limit our comments on the value and originality of opera during the era of Fascism to state that several Italian operas of the thirties show widespread *aurea mediocritas*, along with a sort of common language possessing a typical rhetoric and triumphant attitude.

However, before reaching any firm conclusion, one should realize that innovation is unlikely to be found among this cadre of fifty-year-old composers, and

even less likely among those of a previous generation. Rather, it is more likely to occur among the younger musicians, born at the beginning of the twentieth century and therefore in their early twenties at the advent of fascist period. It is arguable that they, and not their predecessors, possessed the urgency to explore new artistic routes.

The most outstanding names of this younger generation include Goffredo Petrassi (1904-2003) and Luigi Dallapiccola (1904-1974). However, Petrassi only turned to opera later in life with *Il cordovano* (1944-1948). The first opera Dallapiccola composed, *Volo di notte* (libretto by the composer, from A. de Saint-Exupéry), can be taken as an attempt to outline a discussion of the new musical trends pursued by the composers who gained notoriety during the dictatorship and who shared the Fascist ideology (as, of course, no other standard was available). Moreover, the context in which this opera was premièred and later re-primed helps us understand some of the most conspicuous differences in policy between Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany with regards to music and theater.

Dallapiccola was born in Istria – then a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire – and was the son of an Italian Irredentist (Irredentism was a political organization struggling to survive in Italian regions under foreign control). The young composer approached Fascist myths with the complicity of D'Annunzio, whose poem *La Canzone del Quarnaro* he set to music in 1930 (the regime had already chosen to take the key-words of this composition, „Eia Eia Alalà“, as its own greeting expression). *Volo di notte* is an opera largely influenced by activist, anti-demagogic myths typical of the „superman-philosophy“ of Nietzsche and D'Annunzio. The protagonist of *Volo di notte* is Rivière, the director of an airfreight company. He is driven by a pioneer vision to perform not only day flights, but the far more dangerous night flights as well. In his pursuit of this vision, nothing can stop him, even the tragic death of one of his pilots, Fabien (following the crash of Fabien's aircraft, Rivière commands his men to carry on with their mission).

Where Saint-Exupéry softens the more implacable, „voluntaristic“ tones of his story with mystical nuances, Dallapiccola, a devoted Catholic, adds his own contribution as a Christian. In this opera of such contemporaneous setting, his self-quotation from the religiously-inspired *Tre Laudi* (1936-1937) is of particular importance. Also significant is the way Dallapiccola uses the beginning of the first Lauda, a prayer to the Holy Virgin: in the first case, he uses it to introduce Rivière (see Ex. 4) and, in the second, it marks Fabien's fatal crash. This example of musical symbiosis highlights the relationship between the „patron“ of the airfreight company and Fabien. Such compositional procedure and its meaning foreshadowed the close relationship later seen between jailor and captive in *Il Prigioniero* (1944-1948). This signified a deeply religious idea that

Dallapiccola held, in which good and evil merge as parts of an indivisible whole, ruled by an unfathomable yet divine plan.²⁰

Ex. 4



After approaching the techniques of the Viennese School during the early Thirties Dallapiccola developed a deep knowledge of Alban Berg's *Wozzeck* (1925) and *Lulu* (1935), among other works. The result of his studies was *Volo di notte*, an opera where Dallapiccola profoundly incorporates the twelve-tone compositional technique. This technique was banned in Germany as „entartete Kunst“; but it was not censored in Italy, though it was probably not accepted with widespread enthusiasm, being considered „difficult“ music.

Volo di notte was premiered during the Maggio Musicale Fiorentino (on May 18th, 1940), a festival created and funded by the regime, and was then repeated two years later by the Fascist Ministry of Popular Culture („Ministero della Cultura Popolare Fascista“) in the „Series of contemporary operas“ that hosted Dallapiccola's opera along with other 20th-century scores. Among them, Berg's

²⁰ See also: Ben Earle, The Avant-Garde Artist as Superman: Aesthetics and Politics in Dallapiccola's „Volo di notte“, in *Italian Music during the Fascist Period* (ed. by Roberto Illiano), Brepols, Turnhout, 2004, p. 657-716; Jürg Stenzl, Luigi Dallapiccola's „neuer Weg“? Von den „Tre Laudi zur Oper „Volo di notte“, in *Proceedings of the Symposium „Luigi Dallapiccola nel suo tempo“* (Florence 10-12 December 2004), ed. by F. Nicolodi, Firenze, Olschki 2007.

Wozzeck in its Italian première (*Wozzeck* and *Volo di notte* were performed respectively in Rome, Teatro dell'Opera, on November 3rd and 10th, 1942). Dallapiccola negotiated with the general manager of the Braunschweig Theater to have *Volo di notte* staged in the city during the 1940s, but all his attempts failed, rejected by the Reichsministerium für Propaganda.²¹

In 1938, Nazism and Fascism sanctioned an inflexible political and military agreement, strengthened further by the Iron Pact (1939) that would later lead to some of the most repressive actions ever taken against culture – the most tragic and despicable was the banishment of Jewish artists. Among the most distinguished victims of Italian music, forced to expatriate, were Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Renzo Massarani and Vittorio Rieti.

Each of these three composers, along with most of their colleagues, had been more concerned with their own music production than with social and political events. The beginning of the anti-Semitic campaign was unexpected and sorrowful for Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Massarani and Rieti, who up to that point had more or less explicitly endorsed the ideas of fascism. Although it is impossible to penetrate in their thoughts to establish the degree of sufferance, feeling of marginalization and impotence provoked by both the racial laws and the forced emigration which followed, it is reasonable to imagine that Rieti was the one who experienced fewer problems than the other two since he had been success-

²¹ Letter by Karlheinz Guthem, Operndramaturg Braunschweig, to L. Dallapiccola, from Braunschweig, 11 March 1939: „Wir haben uns lange und redlich bemüht und nichts unversucht gelassen, um die Uraufführung Ihrer Oper *Nachtflug* zu übernehmen. Es ist uns aber nicht gelungen, von unserer vorgesetzten Behörde, dem Reichs-Propaganda-Ministerium, die Genehmigung zu dieser Uraufführung zu bekommen. Wir müssen also zu unserem größten Bedauern von diesem Plan wie auch von anderen Dingen Abstand nehmen [...]“ Letter from Vereinigung der Bühnenverleger & Co. Fachverband der Reichstheaterkammer (gezeichnet Stadelers), to the publishing house Ricordi from Berlin, 8 March 1941: „Den mir zugeleiteten Klavierauszug sowie die Inhaltsangabe der obgenannten Oper [*Nachtflug*] erhalten Sie anbei zurück. Wie Ihnen bekannt ist, hat das Werk bereits vor zwei Jahren dem Herrn Reichsdramaturgen vorgelegen, und schon damals ist Ihnen abgeraten worden, eine Verbreitung der Oper in Deutschland vorzunehmen. Dieser Standpunkt der Reichsdramaturgie hat sich auch heute nicht geändert, obgleich die Oper inzwischen beim Maggio Fiorentino 1940 zur Aufführung gelangte. Nach den bisherigen Erfahrungen lehnt das deutsche Theaterpublikum eine derartige Musik, die zu stark ins Atonale geht, ab, und daher dürfte es sich kaum für den Verlag rentieren, die Kosten der Übersetzung und Bearbeitung aufzuwenden. Ich kann Ihnen daher nur anraten, von der Verbreitung des Werkes Abstand zu nehmen. Heil Hitler!“ Both letters are reprinted in L.D. *Sehen was anderen verborgen bleibt*, playbill of the Staatstheater Braunschweig, on the occasion of *Volo di notte*, 31 March 1954, 296-297. New documents have been found by Friedrich Geiger, *Musk in zwei Diktaturen. Verfolgung von Komponisten unter Hitler und Stalin* (Kassel / Basel: Bärenreiter 2004), p. 108-112.

fully working in both Italy and France for some time. Rieti's ballet *David triomphant* was represented in 1937 at the Théâtre de l'Opéra of Paris with the choreography of Serge Lifar (who was also the principal interpreter), and costumes and scenery by Ferdinand Léger. Rieti's neoclassical *Concert du loup* was performed in Paris in 1939 by Roger Desormière for the concert series of „La Sérénade.“ Rieti moved to Paris in 1938 after the racial laws had been approved in Italy, and remained there until 9 June 1940 (a few days before the Nazi invasion of Paris), when he emigrated to the United States.²²

Castelnuovo-Tedesco was a Sephardic Jewish who had achieved success when he was just twenty years old. He had been Pizzetti's pupil and his stylistic manner shifted between Tuscan and Spanish folklore on the one hand and French symbolism on the other (his first significant piano works include: *Questo fu il carro della morte*, 1913; *Coplas*, 1915; *Il raggio verde*, 1916; *Lucertolina*, 1916). He supported the nationalistic movement during World War I, even composing a patriotic song, *Fuori I barbari* (1915). Attracted to theater relatively early in his career (writing works such as the opera *La mandragola* [1920-23], based on Machiavelli, and the ballet *Bacco in Toscana* [1925-26], based on F. Redi), Castelnuovo-Tedesco was asked to compose incidental music for *Savonarola* at the Maggio Musicale Fiorentino. The play had been written by Rino Alessi, an obscure journalist working for the newspaper „Il Piccolo“ of Trieste and a writer of historical dramas who also happened to be a former classmate of Mussolini. The Duce himself had encouraged him to stage an open-air show „for the masses,“ and whenever criticism became polemical, Alessi defended himself by using Mussolini's name.²³ The protagonist of the plot was Savonarola, the in-

²² Franco Carlo Ricci, *Vittorio Rieti* (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane 1987), p. 83-94.

²³ Letter by R. Alessi to M. Castelnuovo-Tedesco, 28 December 1934. „In my view there is a pretty quick way to shut them all up. *Savonarola* is being performed in Florence because the Duce wants it to be performed. One of the under-secretaries of the Ministry for the Press and Propaganda often tells the newspapers what they should and should not do. If other articles happen to appear, a preventive order will be enough to suppress them“ („Secondo me c'è un sistema abbastanza spiccio per chiudere le bocche. Il *Savonarola* si dà a Firenze per volere del Capo. C'è un Sottosegretario della Stampa e della Propaganda che spesso dice ai giornali quello che devono e quello che non devono fare. Se altri articoli si profilano all'orizzonte, un ordine preventivamente dato basta a sopprimerli“) (Florence, Archivio Storico Teatro Comunale, b. 60). Letter of R. Alessi to Alberto Passigli (director of the Maggio fiorentino), 20 February 1935. „I had written to the Duce to inform him of everything that had happened. He was clearly the one who dictated the announcement. So we now have new proof that the Duce is following the show with great interest. From a certain point of view he thinks it 'belongs' to him. Let's all keep that in mind!“ („Io avevo scritto al Duce per informarlo di tutto quanto era avvenuto. Evidentemente deve essere stato lui a far compilare il comunicato. Abbiamo così una nuova prova dell'eccezionale interesse con cui il Duce segue lo spettacolo. Sotto un certo aspetto egli considera la rap-

corruptible Dominican preacher who was burnt at the stake in 1498, universally known for having fought the vices of the church and for having struggled to renew moral values in the Medici's Florence. The organizers of the Maggio Musicale had initially asked to Respighi, but he declined the invitation because he did not hold incidental music in high regard.²⁴ Castelnuovo-Tedesco accepted and then collaborated with director Jacques Copeau, costume designer André Barsacq, conductor Fernando Previtali, chorus-master Andrea Morosini, and the lead actor Memo Benassi. Castelnuovo-Tedesco's score is in the style of Renaissance instrumental music, using fanfares, live sounds (such as the „La Martinnella“ bell) and numerous laudas by Savonarola, Benivieni, Lucrezia Tornabuoni, and Feo Belcari. Some 1500 people were involved in the show that took place in Piazza della Signoria, the same place in Florence where Savonarola had been burned at the stake. Among them, 150 orchestral musicians, 200 choristers and numerous actors, singers, dancers, and supernumeraries. The show premiered on May 28, 1935, and three repeat performances followed on June 2, 5, and 7. It was an enthusiastic success, with critics defining it as „grandiose“.²⁵

The anti-Semitic campaign started creeping in even before the official promulgation of the racial laws in September 1938. In January 1938, for example, the Italian national radio (EIAR) refused to broadcast a work by Castelnuovo-Tedesco who in turn asked for an explanation from his friend and Florentine fascist party official Alessandro Pavolini. In that case, Castelnuovo-Tedesco reminded his friend of his merits as an Italian artist as well as his belonging to the fascist confederation of artists and professionals, but he received only evasive answers.²⁶ The approval of anti-Semitic laws forced Castelnuovo-Tedesco to emigrate to the United States, and on July 13, 1939, he and his family embarked from Trieste to New York. He later described his departure from Italy:

presentazione come cosa „sua“. Teniamolo presente tutti!“ (Florence, Archivio Storico Teatro Comunale, b. 60).

²⁴ Letter of O. Respighi to Alberto Passigli (director of the *Maggio fiorentino*), 25 September 1934. „I am sorry to decline [your invitation], but I am even more sorry not to have had – in this edition of the Maggio Musicale as well as in the previous one – a place worthy of my position.“ („Mi dispiace di darle dunque il mio rifiuto definitivo, ma ancor più mi dispiace di non aver avuto in questo Maggio Musicale Fiorentino, come del resto in quello passato, il posto che mi compete“) (Florence, Archivio storico del Teatro Comunale, b. 62).

²⁵ Adelmo Damerini, Il secondo 'Maggio musicale fiorentino', in *Musica d'Oggi*, XVII, 6, June 1935, p. 234-239; Angela Talli Bordini, Il Maggio musicale fiorentino, in *Lidel*, June 1935, p. 367; Le Savonarole de M. Rino Alessi a été joué hier, avec un succès grandiose, place de la Seigneurie dans le décor même du supplice de Frère Jérôme, in *Palazzo de l'Italie*, 30 May 1935.

²⁶ M. Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita di musica (un libro di ricordi)*, ed. by James Westby, Introduction by Mila De Santis (Fiesole: Cadmo 2005), p. 291-295; 304-306.

I cannot describe what I felt at that moment; he who does not know the bitterness of exile cannot even imagine it. One cannot talk of sorrow, of regret, of moral suffering: rather, it was a torture almost physical, a laceration, a mutilation! It seemed a rehearsal for death, and in fact, since then, something inside me has died forever [...].²⁷

The most dramatic case, however, may be that of Massarani, who had adhered to the fascist movement from the beginning and believed in their programs to renew Italian arts and culture. Massarani held important positions, such as general secretary of the Society of the authors (SIAE) and wrote articles for political newspapers (such as *L'Impero*) and specialized music journals (such as *Musica d'Oggi*), the contributions to which showed him to be a skilled and independent reviewer.²⁸ As a composer he was a moderate modernist, and around the mid-1920s, together with Mario Labroca and Vittorio Rieti, he was part of the *Gruppo dei tre* (in analogy with the Parisian *Les Six*).²⁹ In 1934, he composed incidental music for a show sponsored by the Maggio Musicale Fiorentino; it was an open-air propagandistic theater piece entitled *18BL* after the name of an Italian military truck from World War I. The performance took place in the Isolotto zone on the outskirts of Florence. The first scene presents the victory of the Italian army against its enemies, and the second shows the annihilation of Communist subversion in a factory. The final part, which takes place after Mussolini's victory and rise to power, presents reassuring images of every day working life in the „new“ fascist Italy.³⁰ Since the director Alessandro Blasetti wanted to present an image of harmony among the masses, Massarani had to write a score in which the dances, sounds and noises of the surrounding environment (such as machine gun fire and the roar of trucks' engines) had a prominent part. These

²⁷ Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita di musica*, p. 306: „Quel che provai in quel momento non lo saprei ridire e chi non conosce l'amarezza dell'espatrio non la può immaginare. Non si può parlare di dolore, di rimpianto, di sofferenza morale: fu quasi uno strazio fisico, uno strappo, una mutilazione! (mi parve quasi la prova generale della morte; e da allora qualche cosa è definitivamente morta in me [...]).“

²⁸ For a sampling of reviews by Massarani, see Davide Ceriani, *Un decennio di vita musicale italiano durante il Fascismo attraverso la stampa: 1922-1932*, tesi di laurea, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, University of Florence, 2002-2003, I, supervisor F. Nicolodi.

²⁹ Labroca was a pupil of Respighi and Malipiero. Both Rieti and Massarani studied with Respighi at the Roman Conservatoire. After graduation they all came under the influence of Casella. See G. Rossi-Doria, *Giovani musicisti italiani: Labroca, Massarani e Rieti*, in *Il Pianoforte*, V (December 1924), p. 303-309. A. Casella, *The Italian Three*, in *The Christian Science Monitor*, 29 August 1925. Casella, *Neue Komponisten in Italien*, in *Musikblätter des Anbruch* (August-September 1925), p. 399-402.

³⁰ Gianfranco Pedullà, *Il teatro italiano nel tempo del fascismo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994), p. 202.

noises were projected through recordings and loudspeakers, a technique reminiscent of the futuristic style.³¹

With the racial laws Massarani's works were banned and in 1939 the composer, now stripped of his civil rights, emigrated with his family to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where he remained for the rest of his life. He prevented any reprinting of his works and any performances of his music in an extreme and rather dramatic effort to exorcize his own disillusion with the fascist dictatorship.³²

Engl. translation by Aaron S. Allen, Graham Blackman, Davide Ceriani

Exilmusik auf Frankreichs Bühnen? Musiktheater in Paris von 1933 bis 1944

von BEATE ANGELIKA KRAUS

Bereits in der Ankündigung für diese internationale Konferenz über Musiktheater im Exil der NS-Zeit wurde darauf hingewiesen, dass Opernhäuser in der Regel zu konservativen Festschreibungen tendieren und eher Beharrungstendenzen gegenüber der von den Exilanten zumeist vertretenen Moderne zeigten. Folglich haben exilierte Musiker in ihrer neuen Heimat oft impulsgebend gewirkt, bis hin zur Bildung neuer Schulen. Das mag für viele Länder gelten, in denen Exilmusiker einen neuen Wirkungskreis fanden und ihre künstlerischen Fähigkeiten einbrachten. Für Frankreich hingegen treffen beide Aussagen eigentlich nicht zu, denn die Gesamtsituation war in unserem westlichen Nachbarland völlig anders. Zwar kamen 1933 scharenweise Deutsche, doch trafen sie auf ein durchaus nicht konservatives Musikleben, und für viele blieb Frankreich überdies nur eine Zwischenstation auf dem Weg nach Amerika. Herausragende und prägende Bühnenerfolge deutscher Exilanten können daher hier nicht präsentiert werden. Es wird im folgenden eher darum gehen, die Bedingungen künstlerischen Arbeitens in Paris zu benennen und in diesem Zusammenhang zu fragen, welche Möglichkeiten generell für Exilmusiker in Frankreich bestanden. Der erste Teil wird das Musikleben und -theater in Paris skizzieren – und damit die Situation, in der sich ausgewanderte Musiker und Komponisten zurechtfinden mussten. Anschließend seien einige konkrete Fälle näher betrachtet, darunter Kurt Weill und Werner Richard Heymann, zugleich als Beispiele für nicht in Paris gebliebene deutsche Komponisten. Im dritten Teil wird es um die Frage gehen, welche persönlichen Entwicklungen für deutsche Musiker möglich oder gar notwendig waren, die dauerhaft in Frankreich geblieben sind.

1. Die Situation in Paris

Frankreich war spätestens seit dem 19. Jahrhundert als internationale europäische Metropole ausgesprochen weltoffen, auch und gerade gegenüber deutscher Musik. Daran änderte das Erstarken des Nationalismus nach dem Krieg von 1870/71 weniger als gelegentlich angenommen wird – vor allem nicht in kulturell interessierten Kreisen. Zwar ist die zunehmende Bedeutung französischer Werke im Musikleben und das steigende Selbstbewusstsein französischer Komponisten eine Tatsache, doch wäre es falsch, daraus auf eine Verdrängung der deutschen 'Klassiker' zu schließen, denn Komponisten wie Beethoven und Wagner hatten in Paris längst eine feste Heimat gefunden oder waren auf dem

³¹ Roberto Zanetti, *La musica italiana del Novecento* (Busto Arsizio: Bramante, 1985), II, p. 956. The piece, however, was not very successful for both visual and acoustic reasons. See Guido Salvini, „Spettacoli di masse e '18BL',“ *Scenario*, III (May 1934), p. 254-255; Carlo Piccardi, „Renzo Massarani, popolare e moderno,“ in Maurizio Padoan (ed. by), *Affetti musicali. Studi in onore di Sergio Martinotti* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2005), p. 376-379.

³² Harvey Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, op. cit., p. 185-186; John C.G. Waterhouse, Massarani, *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2001².